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832 [435] (*kaddát*), which are bought from the shaman and remain her own secret. A jacket or something of equal value is the usual price paid by a lover to the old woman who furnishes him with the much-coveted [278] charm. These herbs are either ground into powder or otherwise pressed and crumpled until they are unrecognizable, and then mixed with coconut oil (*dênu*), lest an uninitiated person get to know them, and their virtues disappear: indeed, a love charm whose ingredients, the oil excepted, have been called by name, be it by the shaman herself or anybody else, is completely valueless. This is certainly a wise precaution, otherwise the shaman would not receive many presents of jackets and so on: Isneg youngsters would be able to find the herbs without anybody's help, as they are undoubtedly very common plants, although I am ignorant of their identity; they also probably differ from shaman to shaman. Anyhow if this supposed loss of virtue through the pronunciation of the name of the herbs in question is not a shaman's trick, it certainly serves the latter's interests perfectly well.

[293] Once the boy has obtained his love charm, which he places in some small receptacle, usually a small bottle, he generally carries it along at least when he goes to court the girl of his choice, and he usually keeps it all the time either in his *túput* (belongings rolled up in an *amakattán* kerchief and carried on the back at the waist) or in his *kêlây*, lest he lose it or somebody else lay hands on it. Whenever an Isneg lover goes to see his girl in the evening, he does not fail to pour some of this precious ointment on the palms of both hands and pass the latter over his hair, so that the girl may be forced to love him,—at least if he can do so unobserved, that is if there is no light to betray his actions. This, however, might be called only a measure of precaution or something to be done by all means, lest perchance a better and surer way be wanting. And indeed the love charm is considered as almost irresistible if it comes in mediate or immediate contact with the girl's body.

832 276 576 The inveterate custom of chewing betel nut, betel pepper and lime is not confined to the older people among the Isneg: youngsters very soon learn to imitate their elders in that respect. The asking and giving of the necessary ingredients is, if not the only, at least one of the most usual forms of salutation, and no polite Isneg will forego either to ask or to proffer these precious chewing materials, whenever he happens to meet somebody, and more especially when he is conversing with somebody who is more or less familiar with him, for instance, a relative, a partner in some kind of work, etc.

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832 with her body. Or he may resort to a stratagem very often used in
789 magic, namely, he may place a drop of the oil in question on one of
171 the girl's footprints. Belief in the efficacy of such actions is not confined to the Isneg. Many Iloko, all of whom were converted to Christianity in Spanish times, believe that the caudal spine (*barábur*, in Iloko) of the sting ray thrust into the footprint of a person or in the place made wet by the latter's urine, invariably causes the death of the person in question.

832 Sometimes, instead of this ordinary love charm prepared by a shaman, the boy uses one of his own choice: he tears off a diminutive section of a thread from one of the fringes at the hind part of his G-string, and mixes it with the betel (betel nut, leaf of the betel pepper, and lime) which he prepares for his girl to chew.

832 I have also been able to obtain the names of a few herbs, used for
824 love charms, which were known to the boys who gave me this infor-
278 mation. It goes without saying that the shaman is completely left out in such cases. These herbs, none of which I have been able to identify as yet, are:

sagúbdy: a small herb, the leaves of which are used to win a girl's love;

tagalomá- and *taññó-:* small herbs, to be mixed with oil, as explained above;

añímud: a small herb, to be mixed with the betel given to the girl;

oñam-ámo: a small herb, placed either on the girl's mat or under her nose so that she can smell it;

danórán, tagiámo and *pa-paámo:* small herbs, the first two growing on trees. The boy does nothing else but put one or more of them in his pouch when he goes to court the girls: they merely serve him as an amulet in order to win his girl's love. *Amo* in the last two of these three names, and in the preceding one, means "taming";

dalúpa-: a small herb, to be put secretly in the pouch of a girl who is "wild" to you.

The use I give for each of the above herbs is simply the one that was given to me by my informants, and I repeat it exactly as I heard it, without any addition or explanation on my part.

A Tawit boy gave me the following receipe, which works both ways: If you want to win the love of a girl who is engaged to some other boy, gather a few *tuma-ddy* herbs (a creeping herb growing in the forest), and mix some part of them with the betel nut you hand to

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the girl in question; as soon as she swallows a part of the juice of this mixture, her love for the other boy will have disappeared in its entirety, and you will have taken his place in her affections.

To complete the account I shall add here the means used by a spurned lover in order to revenge himself on the girl who despises his love. The first thing to do is to obtain another kind of herb or mixture of herbs from the compliant shaman. After that the boy pays a last nocturnal visit to the house of the girl who has definitively refused his advances, and throws a part of this charm, which in this case is not a love charm of course, at the girl in question. If it sticks to her body or to her clothes, the Isneg firmly believe that she will conceive through the sole adherence of the herbs thrown at her; in such a case she will forever be scorned by other young men, and the young man's revenge will be complete. If the charm falls down and does not stick to the girl, she will escape unscathed. Similar beliefs are to be found among other Mountain tribes; in certain Kankanay tales, for instance, there is question of a girl who crosses a brook or takes a bath at a place below the one where a boy has thrown his anklet (Kankanay: *bóyat*) into the water: the latter, having floated down, encircled one of the girl's legs, with the inevitable result, not only that she became pregnant at once, but that her being with child became apparent almost immediately.

All the above information concerning the means used by Isneg lovers to win a girl was given to me by young men who had exactly the required age to know everything about the subject from personal experience. From some of the Isneg boys I have also obtained texts giving typical dialogues between a boy and a girl whom he courts. Owing to their content and length and to the necessity of prefacing them with certain linguistic data of a more general nature, they are given as an appendix to the present paper (pp. 261-80).

The Isneg believe that, if the betel (nut, leaf and lime) which a girl prepares for her lover to chew, causes a burning sensation in the latter's mouth, it is a favorable omen for him. In such a case the boy may hope to find his sweetheart ready to accept his suit. So also, if the betel prepared by a lover for his sweetheart burns in the latter's mouth, the girl understands that the boy is really in love with her.

An Isneg lover generally looks for a good omen before going to court the girls, at least when the affair has become serious or when he takes the necessary steps to know definitively whether his feelings